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MAURYA FIGURAL SCULPTURE RECONSIDERED

By FREDERICK ASHER AND WALTER SPINK

THE DIDARGANJ CHOWRIE-BEARER IS PERHAPS THE MOST controversial of all Indian sculptures, with solidly respectable scholars disputing its date by as much as a half millennium.¹ A number of recent important studies have reaffirmed its traditional Maurya date;² others have dated it as much as four hundred years later.³ If it is removed from the Maurya period, and if with it go the two Patna male chowrie-bearers now in the Indian Museum,⁴ the Lohanipur torso now in the Patna Museum, and the few other works carved from polished buff-colored sandstone that generally are seen as contemporary, then this critically important early period is left with no monumental stone images whatsoever, other than the "Aśoka" pillars.

What brings the Didarganj figure under scrutiny once more is the discovery of a double-sided *vrkshadevatā* of polished buff-colored sandstone (Figs. 1–3) that bears clear similarity to the well-known chowrie-bearer. The impressive piece, measuring 1.16 by .38 meters, was discovered at Rajendranagar, a site adjacent to Lohanipur, within the metropolitan area of Patna. The figure on one side of the relief (Fig. 1) leans to her right against a tree that twines upward over the right thigh and around the lowered right arm; the figure's raised left hand grasps the tree, which branches out and blossoms above her head. The figure on the other side (Fig. 2), in which the disposition of the limbs is reversed, mirrors the same pose with an unexpected but surely intentional accuracy. The figure on each side is shown as if nude but for a long scarf that runs across the shoulders, down along the side of the body, and across the hips. The jewelry of each figure is nearly identical: an untypically plain girdle (*mekhalā*) lacking any definition of the expected beads; a simple two-strand necklace, again with no defined beads; a bracelet at the wrist; and an equally plain circlet just below the elbow on each arm. Quite possibly these two armlets should be read as the thicker outer borders of a continuous, and conventional, series of close-set bangles (see Fig. 3), which, like the surprisingly simplified girdle and necklace, are left undefined in order to make polishing the areas easier. Only the massive earrings of each figure are different, though both they and the distinctive circular hair-buns just above the forehead have striking counterparts in numerous Kushāṇa scul-

tures, just as they do in the Didarganj chowrie-bearer.

This Rajendranagar sculpture is not the only such double-sided *vrkshadevatā* from Patna. Another (Figs. 4–5) remains near the find-spot of that piece, at Nayatola village, which is adjacent to the excavated site of Kumrahar.⁵ Although the Nayatola piece is remarkably similar to the Rajendranagar image—the form of the face, the stance, and the way in which the tree trunk crosses the body, for example, are much the same, and both are made of a buff sandstone rather than the mottled red Sikri stone of Mathurā—this sculpture shows much greater detail throughout and has no trace of polish.

Because of the greater detailing, the jewelry of the Nayatola figures appears considerably more opulent than that of the Rajendranagar figures. We might at least suggest, however, that such details as the "missing" beads and bangles on the Rajendranagar images were originally defined with the brush rather than the chisel, for it is reasonable to assume that the sculpture was painted. How else does one explain the unwonted simplicity of these standard costume elements or of the more unusual plain (non-pleated) areas on the scarves of the Rajendranagar figures, which are best understood as still-undecorated counterparts of the apparently related but fully decorated motif that appears just beyond the proper right cheek of the Nayatola figure (Fig. 4)?

Even the broadly defined series of small spherical forms adjacent to the broken hair-bun of the more damaged Rajendranagar figure (Fig. 2) seems to reflect the head ornament of the Nayatola figure and of a number of others dating to the Kushāṇa period,⁶ and it is worth noting that the Didarganj figure has a head ornament that is at least somewhat related to this type, too.

Despite the fact that the Nayatola sculpture (like the Rajendranagar one) is carved from buff sandstone rather than the mottled red "Sikri" sandstone that is more commonly used for Kushāṇa sculptures, the dating to the Kushāṇa period need not be questioned either on the basis of style or that of function, for it resembles many of the double-sided images from Mathurā that likely served as brackets for a *toraṇa*. The critical question, then, must be: Are the similarities between

this sculpture and the newly found one from Rajendranagar sufficient to allow us to assign the latter, too, to the Kushāṇa period? If that is the case, as seems apparent, then there are clear implications for the date of the Didarganj figure, which is remarkably similar to it in many ways, and for the use of polished buff-colored sandstone well beyond the Maurya period.

The chowrie-bearer (Figs. 6–9) found at Didarganj, on the eastern outskirts of Patna, is carved fully in the round. Though not a relief like the Rajendranagar sculpture, it, too, is fashioned from brilliantly polished buff-colored sandstone and shares with the Rajendranagar figure similar exaggerated proportions. Even such details as the tubular earrings worn by the female on one side of the Rajendranagar relief (Fig. 3) also adorn the Didarganj figure, and the curious coiffure (with a bun just above the forehead) common to so many well-known Kushāṇa examples is found on both. There are, however, differences between them as well—most notably the heavy clothing covering the lower portion of the Didarganj image in contrast to the apparent (though certainly not actual) nudity of the females on the Rajendranagar relief, the treatment of the latter being rather like that of the bracket female on the east gateway of Sanchi's Great Stūpa or of later figures, such as the Bhūteśar pillar figures of Kushāṇa times.⁷ Furthermore, on the Didarganj image, as on the females of the double-sided relief from Nayatola, far greater attention has been paid to detail: the beads on the necklace, the many bangles on the arm, the strands of hair on the chowrie, the folds on the cloth of the shawl, and the billowing cloth suspended from the beaded girdle are well defined. Lastly, the treatment of the faces is different, that of the Didarganj figure being longer and somewhat heavier in appearance than that of the Rajendranagar figure, which is more rounded and almost smiling in expression.

Despite differences among the three sculptures, we see overriding similarities. That is, we have suggested that the Rajendranagar relief figure has much in common with the double-sided relief from Nayatola datable to the Kushāṇa period. Furthermore, we have suggested that these two bear considerable similarity to the famous Didarganj chowrie-bearer, which many would assign to the Maurya period on the basis of its polish and the relative naturalism of some details, both features of capitals atop pillars that can be dated to the mid-third century B.C. because they bear Aśoka's edicts. Since the discovery of

the Didarganj figure, many have argued for a post-Maurya date, some relating it to Andhra figures from Sanchi and some to works dating as late as the Kushāṇa period.⁸ But which work might serve as an anchor for determining the date of the others? We believe that it is the Rajendranagar figure, datable to the first or second century, and that the links to the Didarganj figure indicate that it, too, should be assigned to about that time. Thus those who have proposed a Kushāṇa-period date for it are not far from the mark.

Figures as apparently nude as the females of the Rajendranagar relief generally do not appear until at least the late first century B.C. The lower torso of earlier female figures, such as those at Bhārhut and Bodhgayā, are covered with cloth, diaphanous in the case of the Bhārhut figures but still revealing lines of folds where it crosses the legs, and consistently thick in the case of the Bodhgayā figures. On the Rajendranagar figures, however, the garment (for surely one was intended, even if the intention was not to show it) reveals the entire body, as is the case perhaps first on a female figure carved in relief against a pillar from Mathurā now in the Mathurā Museum and subsequently on the bracket *vṛksadevatā* of the Sanchi Stūpa's east gateway.⁹ By the Kushāṇa period, virtually every female figure from Mathurā conforms to this revealing convention and appears essentially nude.

While we have already noted another double-sided relief—that is, a relief with front views of virtually identical figures on each side—from Patna, it is at Mathurā that such images are found in greater numbers. Such reliefs may have been stimulated by bracket figures, which could be viewed from both sides. Two pre-Kushāṇa examples from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā conform to the mode of the Sanchi bracket figures, showing not the double-sided form as we are using the term here but both front and rear views of a female.¹⁰ In the Kushāṇa period, however, the double-sided form is exploited for bracket figures, for example, one from the Dīg Darvāza at Mathurā (Fig. 10), a second from the Kaṅkāli Tīlā,¹¹ and another of unknown provenance in Mathurā now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 11).¹² Other Kushāṇa works that were intended to be seen from both sides also conform to the pattern, illustrating almost identical figures on each side, for example, a pillar capital from the Chamuṇḍa Tīlā at Mathurā, whose principal image on each side is a pot-bellied figure seated above a palm flanked by lions.¹³ The function of a double-

sided dwarf from the Vinayak Tīlā is not as clear,¹⁴ nor is that of a somewhat later sculpture, probably dating early in the Gupta period, an Umā-Maheśvara image depicted on each side of a large relief.¹⁵

A railing pillar such as the one upon which the Rajendranagar reliefs is carved would be viewed from both sides. At Mathurā, however, railing pillars are generally treated differently, that is, not with what we here are calling the double-sided form. The famous Bhūteśar pillars, for example, all show a female on one side (Fig. 12) and a series of panels illustrating a single episode from the Buddha's life or a *jataka* on the opposite side.¹⁶ And on earlier railings such as those at Bodhgayā and Bhārhut, the double-sided form is not applied.

Beside the fact that the Rajendranagar sculpture is double-sided and the females of each side appear to be nude, other indications suggest a date no earlier than the first century, and probably one as late as the Kushāṇa period. Among these features are the great tubular earrings worn by the figure on one side, which are identical to those that adorn several of the Bhūteśar females (Fig. 13) and a railing figure from Mathurā now in Bharat Kalā Bhavan.¹⁷ Also, the great loop of cloth along each figure's right hip and thigh is seen for the first time on some of the figures of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi¹⁸ and then commonly on Kushāṇa-period female figures, including several of the Bhūteśar females and the famous bowl-bearing woman from Faizabad.¹⁹ And the coiffure is a feature that cannot be associated with figures any earlier than Kushāṇa times. In particular, the frontal bun decorated with an ornament that is found on the better preserved side of the Rajendranagar relief is again seen on many Kushāṇa images, the Bhūteśar figures as well as the bracket figure in the Victoria and Albert Museum among them, but not on earlier works. Lastly, the stance of the figure shows none of the rigid frontality commonly displayed by the pillar reliefs of Bhārhut and Bodhgayā. Rather, the *vṛksadevatā* of each side stands so that the right shoulder and hip appear to move forward toward the viewer, the opposite sides of her body receding into the pillar, though with somewhat greater subtlety of movement than the Bhūteśar females show. All these features, then, suggest a date in the Kushāṇa period, probably early in the time of that dynasty.

If the Rajendranagar double-sided *vṛksadevatā* relief, like the similar sculpture from nearby Nayatola, may be assigned to the Kushāṇa period, then we must ask about the date of the Didarganj

chowrie-bearer. We have already noted that this free-standing sculpture has many features in common with the two double-sided reliefs, so many that it is hard to believe that any significant amount of time separates them, certainly not four hundred years, as would be the case were this a Maurya work. Might the similarities result from their common Pāṭaliputra origin—in fact, the three were found within ten kilometers of one another—rather than chronological proximity? Probably not, for the comparisons above should indicate that they share more in common with sculptures of Kushāṇa date from Mathurā than with those of any earlier time.

One feature of the Didarganj and Rajendranagar sculptures, however, must be explained as a Pāṭaliputra technique rather than a chronologically limited one. That is the brilliantly polished buff-colored sandstone,²⁰ a feature long thought to indicate with certainty a sculpture's Maurya date. Its association with the Maurya period is based largely on the pillars bearing Aśoka's inscriptions and thus surely no later in date than the time of his reign. Of these pillars, all those with lion capitals except the one at Vaiśālī are similarly polished, although those crowned with other animals are not.²¹ But one must not assume that because the technique was applied to works of one date, it was exclusive to that time.

If the Didarganj chowrie-bearer is not accepted as a Maurya work, then what about the few other figural sculptures often ascribed to that time? The colossal male figure from Parkham, thought by some to be a Maurya work, is much less naturalistic and more relief-like in conception and is in many ways related to such works of undoubted Śuṅga date as the Bhārhut railing reliefs. That leaves the two Patna male chowrie-bearers (Fig. 18) now in the Indian Museum and the Lohanipur torso (Fig. 15) now in the Patna Museum among the only remaining figural sculptures that are candidates for a Maurya date. Yet they, too, we believe, must be contenders for later ascriptions. The two Patna male figures, commonly identified as yakshas, are frequently seen as prototypes of the bodhisattva figures developed at Mathurā during Kushāṇa times. Their erect stance, full fleshy belly and naturalistically rendered drapery links them closely with Kushāṇa works. True, the abdomen of the Patna figures is fuller, without the subtle variations of Kushāṇa figures from Mathurā, possibly an indicator of their status as yakshas; and the form of the garment is different, rather like a *luṅgi* in the case of the Patna figures

as opposed to the monastic garment worn by the Kushāṇa Mathurā bodhisattvas. Moreover, the treatment of the cloth, in addition to its fashion, may be distinguished: it is thick and marked with diagonal pairs of parallel striations in the case of the Patna figures but thin in the case of the Kushāṇa Mathurā bodhisattvas, almost diaphanous, and unmarked with lines where it passes over the legs or across the torso. These distinctions all have been taken as chronological indicators, yet if the Didarganj female figure is reassigned to Kushāṇa times, then the two Patna male figures also must be dated to that time. Not only do they wear a garment similar in form and treatment to that of the Didarganj image, but even the treatment of the sash that runs diagonally across the Didarganj figure's back is essentially identical to that worn across the torso of the Patna images. Thus much more than the polished sandstone links them. Instead of being seen as prototypes of the Kushāṇa bodhisattvas, they should be recognized as contemporary products.

The Lohanipur torso (Fig. 15), however, is more difficult to analyze; because it is nude, comparisons of cloth form and accoutrements are not possible. Moreover, the front of the torso lacks the subtle fleshy forms of the Patna figures, although its rear side is modelled in a manner similar to those. Likely, however, its date is not significantly different from that of the Patna figures. The three, we would suggest, date to Kushāṇa times. The two Patna figures are closely related to bodhisattva images from Mathurā, and also to Kushāṇa terracottas, as we show below. The Lohanipur torso is related to a significant number of nude tīrthaṅkara figures of Kushāṇa date from Chausa (Figs. 16 and 17).²²

If our proposed date for these sculptures is accepted, this leaves us with the total absence of figural imagery at the time when the animal capitals were carved. But this is hardly surprising, since in any case only a mere handful of stone figures in human form, perhaps only four of them, have ever vied for a date contemporary with the magnificent and rather widely distributed stone pillars. The conclusion that emerges after taking them away—namely, that anthropomorphic representations were not made in stone in Maurya times—seems to us more compelling than the old one, which saw this small and quite disparate group of figures as unique.

Traditionally, two notions have suggested assigning these sculptures to Maurya times, one more analytical, the other more romantic. The analytical

reason, a comparison with the pillar capitals of Aśoka's time, already has been noted. Like these Maurya capitals, the figural sculptures are carved from brilliantly polished buff-colored sandstone. That, however, as the Rajendranagar relief shows, is not restricted to the Maurya period. It was used consistently in Pāṭaliputra though Kushāṇa times. Beside the works discussed, others as well were carved from polished buff sandstone, for example, a *mithuna* from Patna City (Fig. 14) dated by the Patna Museum to Śuṅga times though likely carved in the Kushāṇa period.²³ Parts of this image are brightly polished, and in details of the coiffure, earrings, and lower arm encased in bangles, the female of the couple shares much in common with the Didarganj image. Without polish, the buff stone continued to be used at Pāṭaliputra through the Gupta period,²⁴ after which the dark grey stone widely used as the medium of sculpture in Magadha replaced it.

The more romantic reason for assigning these works to the Maurya period is the assumption of Maurya royal patronage. How could a dynasty as powerful and cultured as this fail to provide figural imagery, the argument seems to run. These figures are, after all, from the Maurya capital, Pāṭaliputra. The assumption of royal patronage, moreover, helps explain a difference that many see between relatively naturalistic works (the royal ones) and more abstract figures (considered popular ones) such as the colossal Parkham male figure or the Bhārhut sculptures of Śuṅga times.²⁵ The assumption of this argument is that royalty, especially royalty in touch with Hellenistic Greece, must favor naturalism, while the people—the native *hoi polloi*, one can imagine the unspoken argument going—must favor abstractions, even monstrous perversions of nature. This is an argument based on no evidence at all and more than a touch of Orientalism.

Once we have taken the Didarganj chowrie-bearer, the Patna chowrie-bearers, and the Lohanipur torso out of the Maurya period, the gap that they leave turns out to be no gap at all. The development of style in the representation of the human figure in stone sculpture is far more consistent and understandable if we are able to start with the diffident carvings at Sanchi Stūpa number 2 and Bhārhut, and move gradually toward a greater realization of perceptual goals, than if we must start with works of "astonishing maturity"²⁶ only to find that the next stage in the evolution is one of diffident youthfulness. But this is exactly what happens if we move from the Patna figures to-

ward the Sanchi Stūpa number 2 and the Bhārhut railings, rather than see them as impressive representatives of a style that was developing in the late first and second centuries A.D.

Furthermore, once we admit that polish *per se* by no means guarantees a Maurya date and then move these figures from the Maurya to the Kushāṇa period, we resolve a further problem: we no longer have to explain why this very small group of highly accomplished representations of the human form has no comparable contemporaries, antecedents, or immediate descendents. It is hard to believe that four such monumental sculptures whose subtle and confident modelling so strongly suggests that they belong to an already well-established tradition ever existed in such surprising isolation. Admittedly, related pieces may have been lost, although the loss of great numbers would be easier to believe if they had been made of metal, which could have been melted down for other uses. Life-size stone sculptures would hardly have disappeared so thoroughly if, as the products of a developed tradition, they had once existed in abundance. However, the fact that never has any counterpart turned up in Mauryan contexts perhaps suggests nothing more mysterious than that we have been looking in the wrong place. What we are arguing here is that when we adjust our focus and look within Kushāṇa contexts, we do indeed find their missing counterparts—stylistic, iconographic, and now even technical.

Moving the Lohanipur torso up into this same later period brings an even greater sense of clarification. For how can we believe that this large hieratic nude figure could have been intended as anything other than a tīrthaṅkara? And if it is a divine image, how could we explain its singular isolation perhaps as much as three hundred fertile years before sculptures in any way comparable to it (either in style or function) finally make their appearance? Of course if the torso is that of a jina (as it apparently is) and if it *were* of Mauryan date (as apparently it is not), it would suggest an early origin for the Buddha image, too, since early sectarian traditions in India are so linked in their evolution. But the present evidence does not argue this; the nude torso, like the other figures, fits comfortably into a later context. It would have been assigned to a later date long ago were its dating not confused by its presumed “Maurya” polish, for its sensitively fleshy modelling bears some comparison with that of the bronze tīrthaṅkaras from the same general region (Figs. 16 and 17).

Once we remove these figures from the Maurya context, the monumental Maurya pillars with their crowning sculptures quite literally stand alone, depending in their uniqueness upon their imperial patronage, and looking even more than before toward Western Asia for their prototypes, both stylistic and technical. Indeed, even the vaunted naturalism of some of the animal capitals is better explained as reflecting Hellenistic influence than as the herald of an Indian sense of the “natural,” which then goes mysteriously underground until about the time of the Sanchi gates; for such “naturalism” is not found either at Bhārhut or on the railings of Sanchi Stūpa number 2, despite all of the conceptual charm of those sculptures. Nor is it evident in the terracotta animals of the Maurya period.

It is well worth studying the abundant terracotta record, because if the large stone sculptures under consideration were indeed of Maurya date, we should expect to find comparable images in clay, just as we do when comparing monumental figures with terracottas in other periods. Terracotta figurines of females datable to Maurya times do, of course, abound, but the standard type is highly stylized, folkish, and generally overlaid with heavily applied and/or stamped ornaments.²⁷ Such naively forceful figures have little in common with the painstakingly studied and modelled Didarganj female or her male counterparts. Nor do the more subtly modelled terracottas from Bulandibagh, in which some scholars see Hellenistic influences reflected,²⁸ show a convincing connection with the large stone figures under discussion. Their costuming in particular is totally different; however, instead of expressing concern that “at present such discrepancies cannot be explained,”²⁹ as those who would compare such figures with the Didarganj chowrie-bearer are forced to admit, we would argue that the dilemma disappears as soon as we put two or three hundred years between these disparate works.

Significantly, when we *do* find closely comparable terracottas, they are far from the Maurya period in date, belonging instead to precisely the period to which we have assigned the polished stone figures on the basis of their many connections with Kushāṇa stone sculptures. A consideration of two terracottas illustrated in the catalogue of the exhibition *From Indian Earth* will underline these connections. Both, in contrast to all terracotta figurines of Maurya date, are monumental in scale, reflecting a general interest in large freestanding sculptures in Kushāṇa times. The first of these ter-

racottas, a seated image of Hārītī (Fig. 20) from Kauśāmbī, assigned to the “first century A.D. or later,”³⁰ instead of denying connections with the Didarganj figure, asserts them, albeit without the refinements seen in the latter. The general stance and expression communicate a similar assertiveness and assurance, but the more precise connections are in the type and disposition of some of the ornaments, notably the very similarly designed armlets and anklets. The heavy necklace falls in the same way between the swollen breasts, while the coiffure in each case is characterized by a large “bun” in front, with the hair combed to either side and finally gathered in a central knot (placed much higher in the terracotta), before descending to shoulder level—a hairstyle that appears to be specifically, and frequently, associated with female imagery of the Kushāṇa period. Admittedly, the Didarganj chowrie-bearer’s ornate girdle is absent in the terracotta Hārītī, and, too, the latter’s garment is treated much more simply, but here again we can find striking counterparts in numerous Kushāṇa sculptures from the Mathurā region as well as in roughly contemporary ivories found at Begram. A significant number of connections can also be found in certain Gandhāra images of the same general period (Fig. 21).

The rather deep incisions made to suggest pleats or folds in both this and the second terracotta discussed below may be the more humble potter’s way of expediently mimicking the distinctive “double-line” pleats seen in both the Didarganj chowrie-bearer and the Patna chowrie-bearers. Such carefully wrought “double-line” pleats, though understandably absent from the more expediently produced terracottas, are commonly found in stone carvings from Jaggayyapeṭa and from the earlier contexts at Amarāvātī, as well as in many of the Begram ivories—all works that can hardly date before the first century A.D. and more probably should be assigned to the second century.³¹ As Philippe Stern perceptively argued years ago, this is but one further feature that links the Patna stone figures to works of a relatively late date rather than to anything from Maurya, or even Śuṅga, times.³² They might even be seen as conventionalizations or “misunderstandings” of

the somewhat more “realistic” plaits formed in various Gandhāra sculptures, such as the Hārītī mentioned above (Fig. 21).

The second terracotta, a headless, standing male (Fig. 19) also from Kauśāmbī and probably from the same workshop as the seated Hārītī just discussed, has much of the same authoritative fullness as the Patna chowrie-bearers (Fig. 18) and shows the same confidence in the arrangement of the garment, which falls easily and naturally over the fleshy body.³³

Although differences in both medium and function disallow too direct a comparison between such terracottas and the stone pieces under discussion, the connections one can make between them take on a particular significance now that the discovery of the highly polished Kushāṇa vṛksadevatā from Rajendranagar has once again opened up the question of the dating of these important figures. If we are going to understand the development of early Indian sculpture correctly, the proper dating of the Didarganj chowrie-bearer, the Patna chowrie-bearers, and the Lohanipur torso is obviously an issue that has to be resolved and warrants the consideration of all these related works.

Our conclusions, we acknowledge, will require the adjustment of a number of long-held assumptions on the part of those who have accepted the construction of a history of Maurya art that includes these figures. It seems to us that the new evidence demands that we omit all large anthropomorphic representations in stone from the dwindling Maurya repertory. Further, by reassigning those figures to the Kushāṇa period, Mathurā’s position during that age as the premier, indeed almost exclusive, center for figural sculpture in all north India is brought into question. That works were produced elsewhere, even in Pāṭaliputra, during the Kushāṇa period long has been recognized.³⁴ Now, however, we propose that the number of works produced there was greater during Kushāṇa times than was previously recognized. Indeed, among these works were some of the best known in the history of Indian art.

Notes

1. Though commonly identified as a yakshī, there is little conclusive evidence that this should be so but for the popularity of yakshī figures in early Indian art, for example at Bhārhut, where the sculptures bear identifying labels. There, however, the chowrie is not an identifying attribute of a yakshī.
2. See, for example, Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India, 3000 B.C.–1300 A.D.*, Cambridge, MA, 1985, pp. 48–49; and Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, New York, 1985. See also Karl Khandalavala, “The Didarganj Chauri-Bearer: Another View Point,” *Lalit Kalā*, v. 23, 1988, pp. 12–14, who argues against the position presented by Daniel Schlumberger, “Coiffures féminines similaires à Rome et dans l’Inde,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, Paris, 1966, pp. 587–95, and translated into English on pp. 9–11 in the same number of *Lalit Kalā*.
3. James C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, Harmondsworth, England, 1986, recently suggested a first century date, the time to which he assigns the Great Stūpa at Sanchi, but without arguing the case. The case for that date is meticulously argued by Herbert Plaeschke, “Zur Datierung der ‘Cauri-Trägerin’ von Didarganj,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg*, v. 12, nos. 3–4, pp. 319–30, whose references provide an essentially comprehensive bibliography for the sculpture. A few earlier writers have dated the figure even later.
4. While these figures are commonly identified as yakshas, we are hesitant to identify them so specifically for the same reasons we are reluctant to identify the Didarganj figure as a yakshī.
5. See Frederick M. Asher, *The Art of Eastern India, 300–800*, Minneapolis, 1980, pl. 1 for an overall view of the figure without the “clothing” in which it is currently draped.
6. Stanislaw J. Czuma, *Kushan Sculptures: Images from Early India*, Cleveland, 1985, catalogue no. 29.
7. See Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, pl. 6.6, and pls. 8.35 and 8.36.
8. See for example, Benjamin Rowland, Jr., *The Art and Architecture of India*, Baltimore, 1970, p. 100 on the former, and Philippe Stern, “Les ivoires et os découverts à Begram; leur place dans l’évolution de l’art de l’Inde,” in J. Hackin, ed., *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1954, p. 41 on the latter.
9. The Mathurā figure (Mathurā Museum, accession no. J2.) is illustrated in J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris, 1930, pl. XVIIb.
10. *Ibid.*, pl. XI(c), now in the Lucknow Museum (accession no. J545). A second one, with the female standing on a stooping male, is illustrated by Vincent Smith, *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, (*Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, v. 20), pl. XXXV.
11. Chandra, *The Sculpture of India*, p. 54, pl. 9. Now in the Lucknow Museum (accession no. J598).
12. For front and back views of this figure, see Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XII.
13. Mathurā Museum, accession no. 72.7.
14. Mathurā Museum, accession no. C.25.
15. Mathurā Museum, accession no. 30.2084. The precise find-spot of this sculpture is not recorded.
16. For front and back views of these pillars, see Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pls. XIX and XX.
17. Accession no. 695.
18. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, pl. 6.6.
19. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. L.
20. This is usually identified as Chunar sandstone, although it has not been properly examined to determine with certainty its Chunar origins. Nor is that term, commonly used by art historians, the proper one. The sandstone of Chunar and of the hills extending eastward into Rohtas District, Bihar, is properly called Kaimur sandstone.
21. Traces of polish, however, are apparent on the abacus of the Sankissa elephant capital.
22. These figures are discussed in Asher, *The Art of Eastern India*, pp. 17ff. and pls. 6–7.
23. Patna Museum, accession no. 8178. For another view of this figure, see P. L. Gupta, ed., *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Patna, 1965, pl. VI.
24. See, for example, a Parśvanātha image from Mahabir Ghat, Patna, and a Viṣṇu figure from Patna City, illustrated in Asher, *The Art of Eastern India*, pls. 4 and 26.
25. See, for example, Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 72–74, where he distinguishes between the royally sponsored works with connections to those of Western Asia and those such as the Parkham figure that he considers “archaic and Indian.”
26. Chandra, *The Sculpture of India*, p. 49.
27. Amy G. Poster, *From Indian Earth*, New York, 1986, pp. 85, 90–92.
28. M. K. Dhavalikar, *Masterpieces of Indian Terracottas*, Bombay, 1977, p. 51, and Poster, *From Indian Earth*, p. 85.
29. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, p. 55.
30. Poster, *From Indian Earth*, p. 123.
31. For a succinct discussion of the evidence, see D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London, 1954, pp. 40–56.

32. See Stern, "Les ivoires et os découverts à Begram," pp. 19–54.
33. A large seated Kubera in the Cleveland Museum of Art may come from the same workshop. See Czuma, *Kushan Sculptures*, catalogue no. 54, pp. 126–27. The dating of this whole group is disputed, being variously placed between the first and fourth centuries A.D.; we would suggest the second, or even first, century as most likely.
34. See, for example, the bodhisattva from Kumrahar, Patna, now in the Patna Museum (accession no. 3981). The figure is illustrated in Asher, *The Art of Eastern India*, pl. 2.



FIG. 1. Double-sided vrkshadevatā from Rajendranagar, Patna District. 1.16 m. high. Patna Museum. Photograph by Frederick Asher.



FIG. 2. Opposite side of the vṛkshadevatā from Rajendranagar. Photograph by Frederick Asher.



FIG. 3. Detail of the *vrkshadevatā* from Rajendranagar. Photograph by Frederick Asher.



FIG. 4. Double-sided vrkshadevatā from Nayatola, Patna District. 1.04 m. high. Photograph by Frederick Asher.



FIG. 5. Detail of the ṛkshadevatā from Nayatola. Photograph by Frederick Asher.

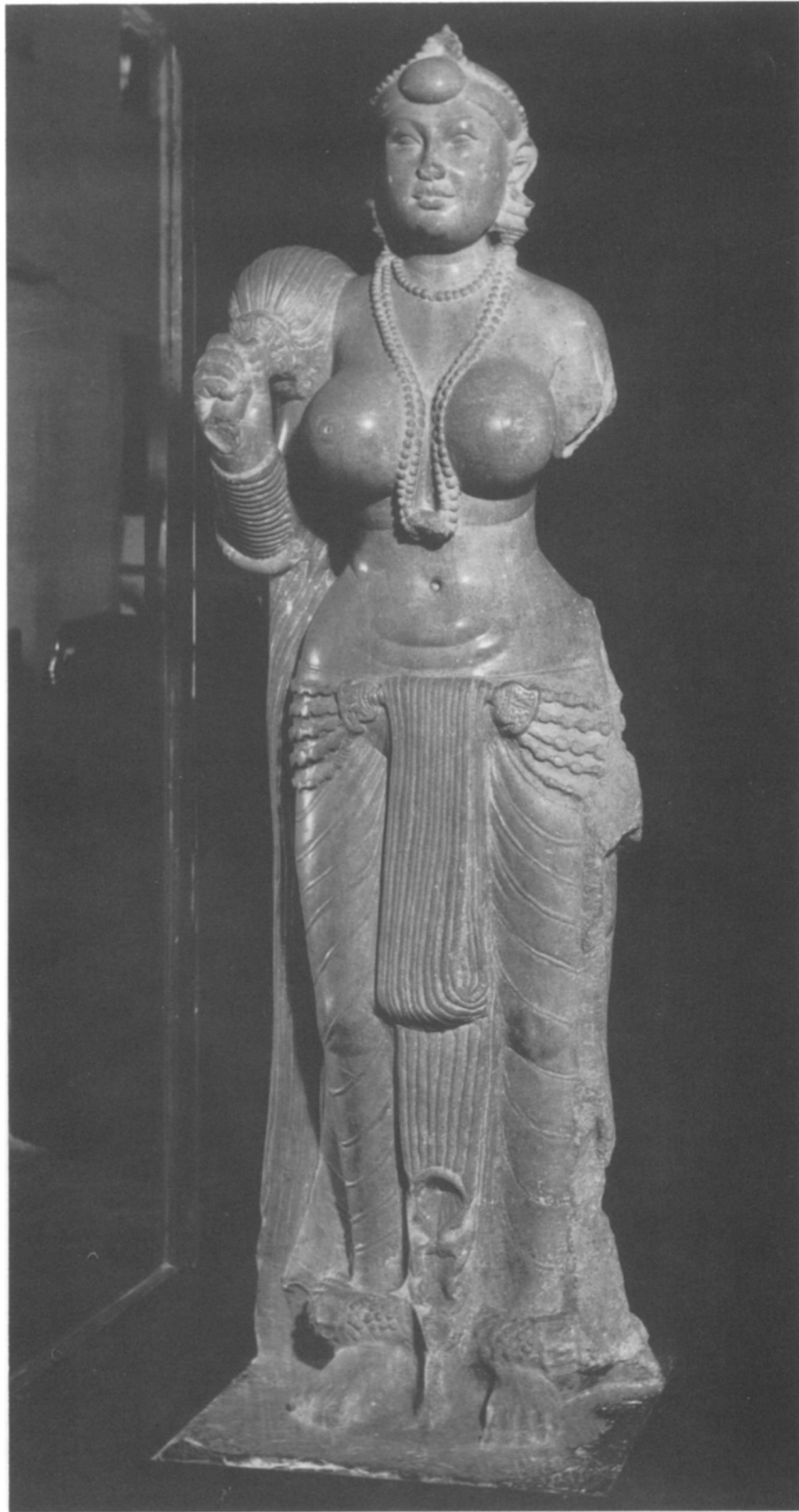


FIG. 6. Chowrie-bearer from Didarganj. 1.625 m. high. Patna Museum. Courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

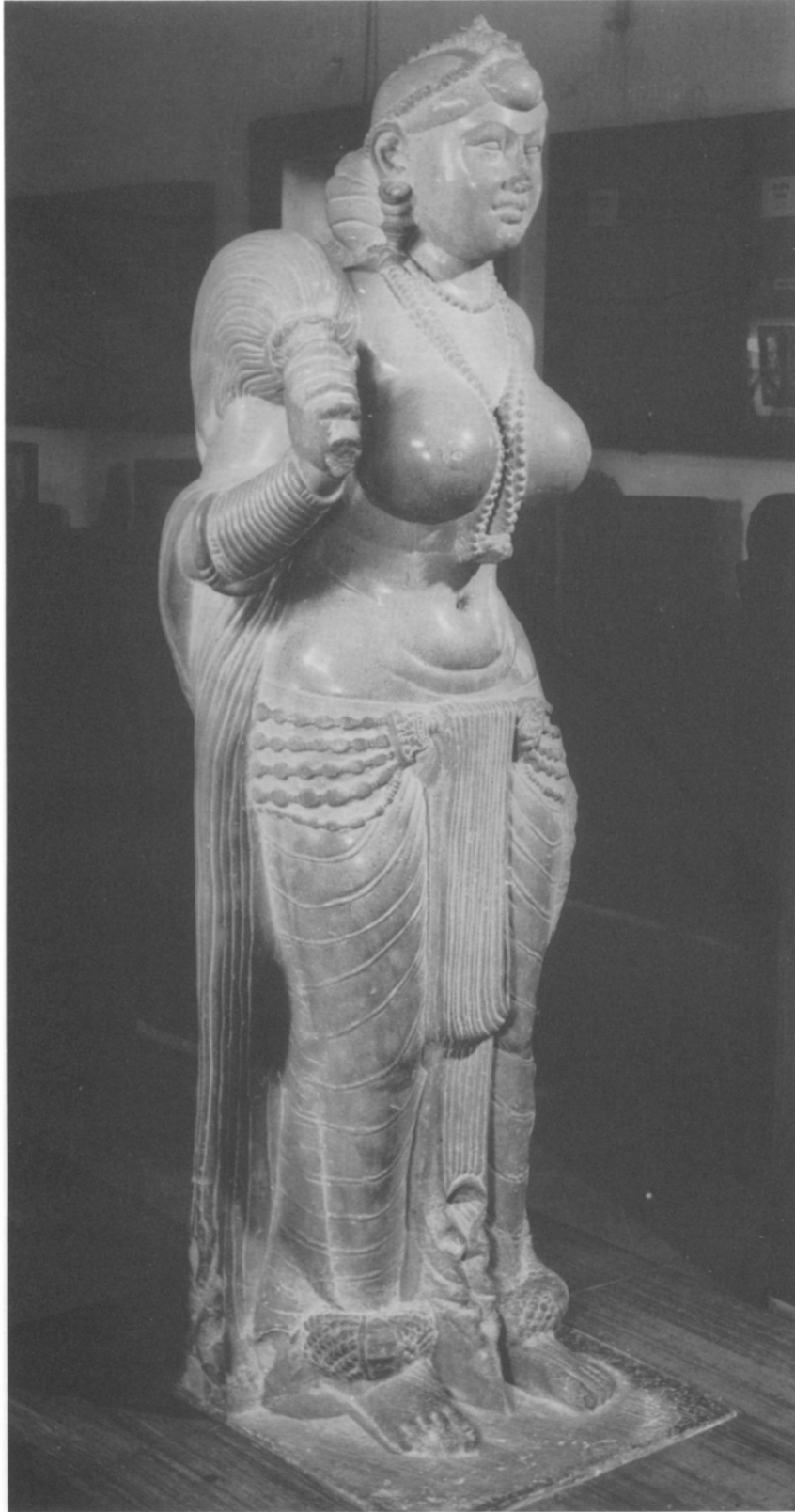


FIG. 7. Chowrie-bearer from Didarganj.
Courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.



FIG. 9. Detail of the Didarganj chowrie-bearer.



FIG. 8. Chowrie-bearer from Didarganj. Courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

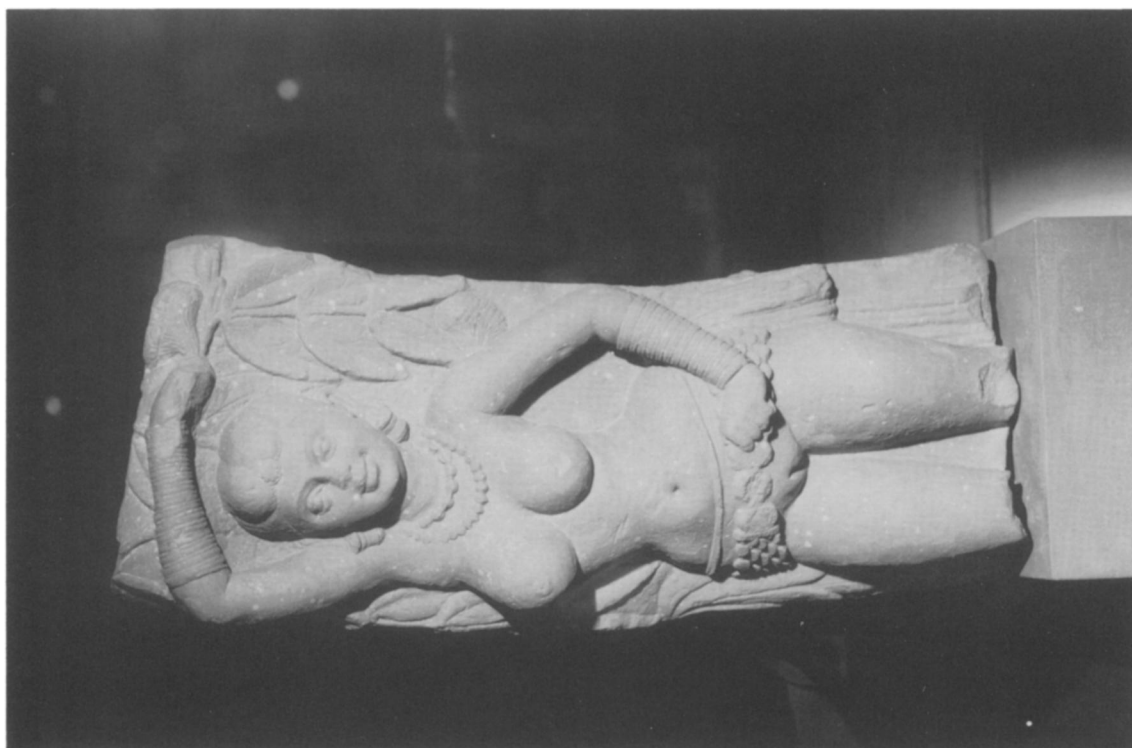


FIG. 11. Double-sided vrkshadevatā from Mathurā. 52 cm. high. Victoria and Albert Museum, accession no. 48489.



FIG. 10. Double-sided vrkshadevatā from Dīg Darvāza Mathurā. Mathurā Museum, accession no. M4.

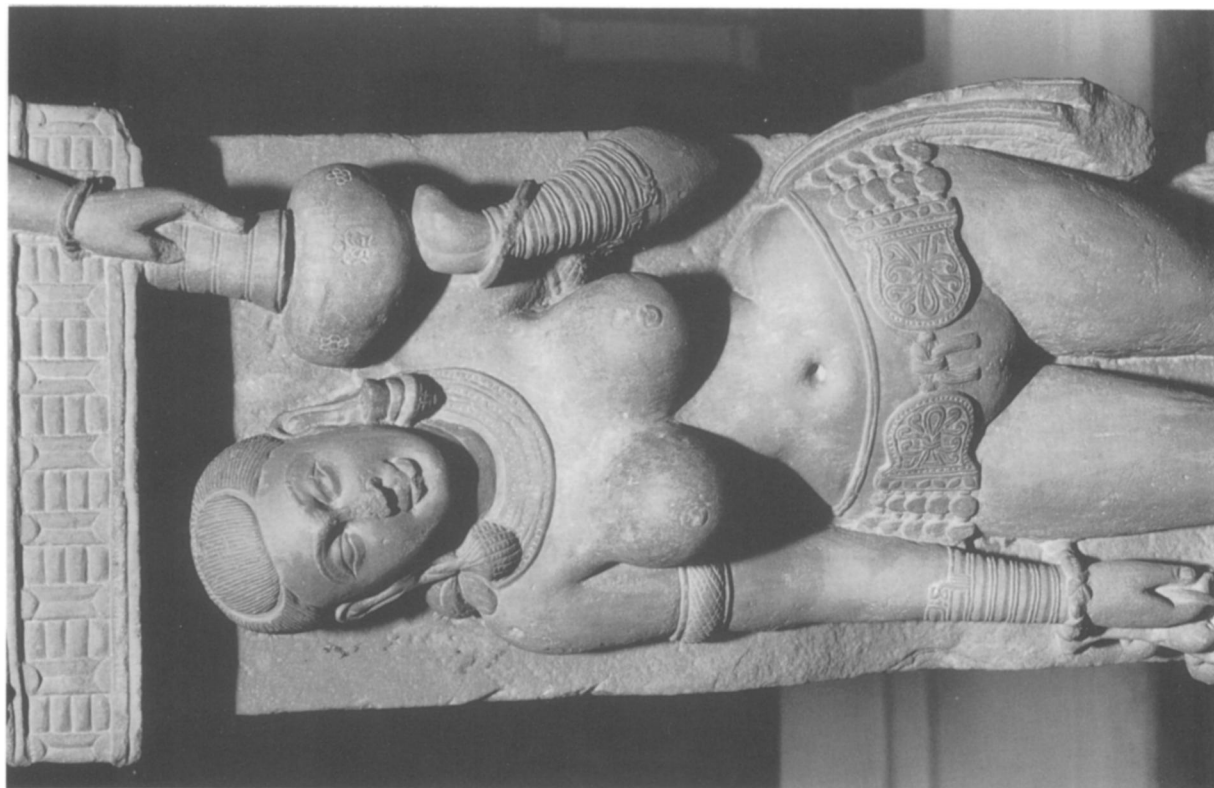


FIG. 13. Detail of a female figure on a railing pillar from Bhūteśar.

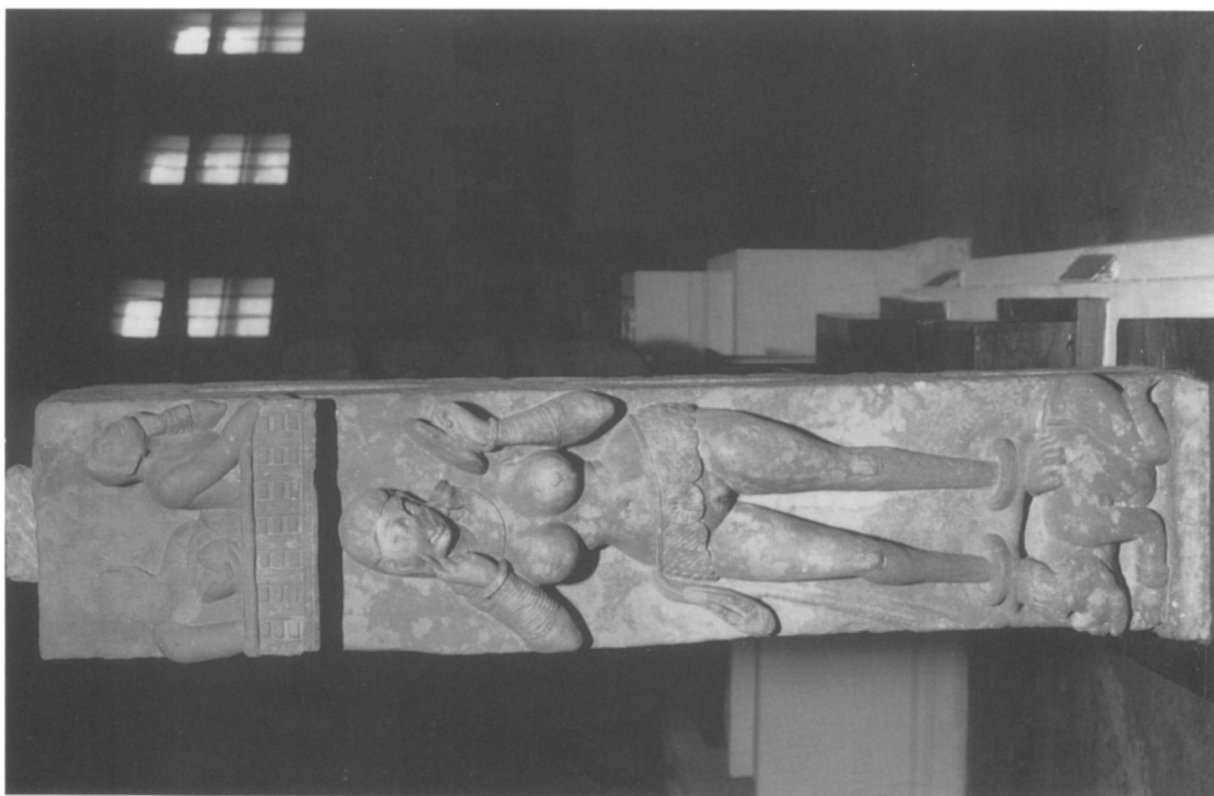


FIG. 12. Female figure on a railing pillar from Bhūteśar.
1.3 m. high. Mathurā Museum.



FIG. 14. *Mithuna* from Patna City. 50.8 cm. high. Patna Museum, accession no. 8178.



FIG. 15. Nude Male torso from Lohanipur, Patna District. Sandstone, 75 cm. high. Patna Museum, accession no. arch 8038. Courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.



FIG. 17. Tirthankara in *kayotsarga* pose. Chausa hoard. Second century A.D. or later. Bronze, 49.5 cm. high. Patna Museum, accession no. 6530. Courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

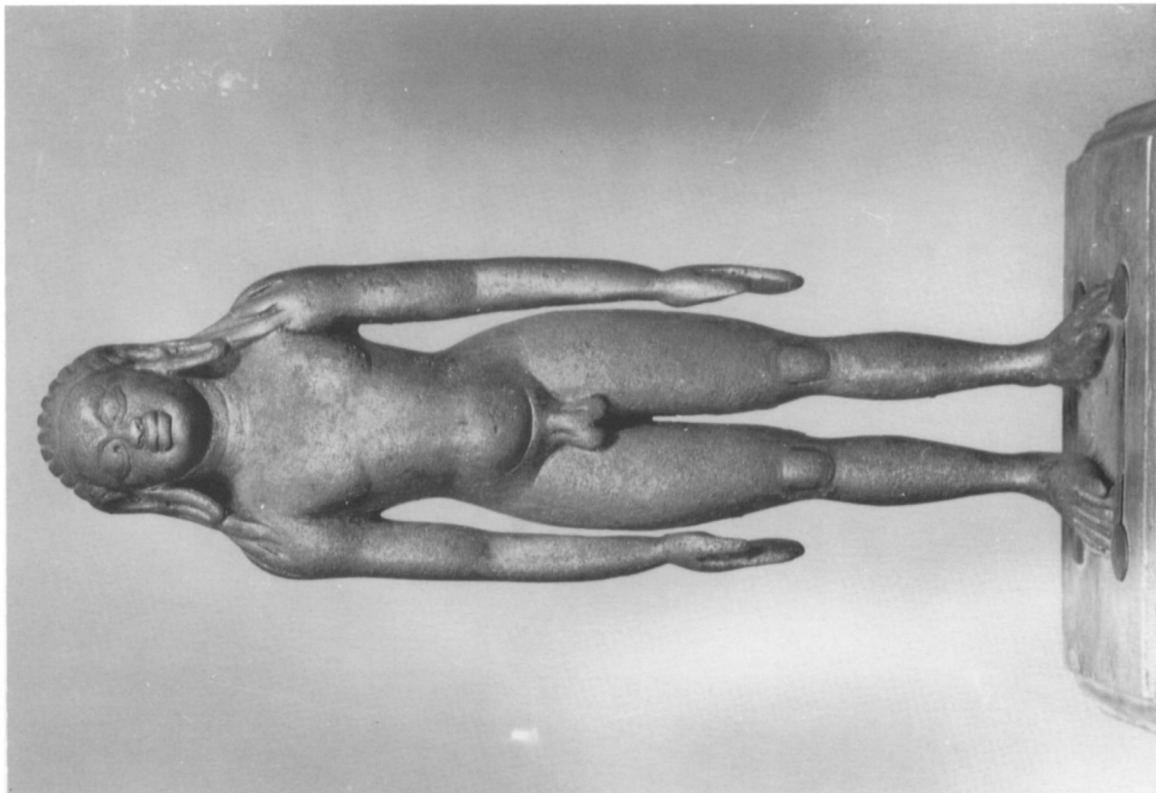


FIG. 16. Rshabhanatha from Chausa. Second century A.D. or later. Bronze, 21.9 cm. high. Patna Museum, accession no. 6539. Courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.



FIG. 18. Male chowrie-bearer from Patna District. Stone, 1.65 by .700 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta, accession no. A24795/p1.
Courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.



FIG. 19. Male torso from Kauśāmbī. Second century A.D.(?). Terracotta, about 50 cm. high. G. K. Kanoria Collection. Photograph courtesy of John Huntington.



FIG. 20. Hārītī from Ghoshitarama Monastery, Kauśāmbī. Second century A.D.(?) Terracotta, 82 cm. high. Allahabad University Museum. Photograph courtesy of John Huntington.



FIG. 21. Hārītī from Gandhāra region. Ca. second century A.D.(?). Stone, 59.7 cm. high. Collection unknown. (After *Indian, Himalayan and Southeast Asian Art*, Sotheby's [New York] sales catalogue for 22 March, 1989, fig. 14.)